

# Family and Traditional Values in East Asia

Exploring Four Comparative Values Surveys in East Asia

## Working Paper

For ECCS, European Centre for Comparative Surveys, Mannheim, Germany

**Henk Vinken**<sup>©1</sup>

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## Introduction

Many East Asian nations and cities (or city-states) participate in globally diffused values survey project such as the World Values Surveys (WVS), the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), General Social Survey (GSS), or the National Election Studies (NES). Usually these studies all build on profound theoretical deliberations, methodological debates, and participatory decision-making processes. Yet, many if not all of these studies started in Western contexts, in Europe and/or the United States. As Hofstede (2007) warns, this origin may create biases when these surveys are fielded in other than their original Western contexts: "Issues prominent in the researcher's culture but not necessarily relevant to the respondents will be included, and issues crucial in the respondents' culture but not in the researchers' may be overlooked". This working paper aims to take account of these types of biases. It will more closely look into East Asian-origin values surveys such as the Asia Barometer, Asian Barometer, and the East Asian Values Survey, all starting with their first waves in the early years of this new millennium. The rationale is straightforward: do these surveys adopt concepts and indicators that prove to be more appropriate for surveying East Asian publics?

This working paper focuses on concepts and indicators in the family domain.<sup>2</sup> It is almost a truism that in East Asia all other issues and domains of life are filtered, interpreted and valued through a family-based looking glass. The family is in such truisms claimed to be prototypical for all forms of relationships. The much-cited principle underlying the prominence of the family is that of 'filial piety' or the principle of respecting and loving one's parents and following the norms in interacting with parents (Dong, 1990; Zheng et al., 2005). Filial piety seems to be relevant in most of the East Asian countries. One of many examples comparing the US and Japan (Hashimoto, 1996) shows that in Japan filial bonds are more important than conjugal ones when it comes to giving and getting support. In Japan supportive relationships are generational (framed here in a genealogical sense). In the US relationships between life partners are more important than generational ones. In the US the latter are interpreted from a generational equity perspective reasoning that the younger generation will have their turn in due time when they have sought independence. In Japan support is much more serially ordered from the younger to the older generation and vice versa. Interestingly, filial piety comes with filial anxiety as Kim and Park (2005) note for the Korean case. Filial piety may well be overriding all other areas of life, yet this principle is fraught with contradictions and not always easy to bear, especially not for women. It can be a burden, and it is also experienced as such, to be expected to take care of elderly and frail parents. Several difficulties in the financial, emotional, relational and social domains with

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<sup>1</sup> Henk Vinken is a sociologist (PhD 1997), director/owner of Pyrrhula BV, an independent institute for comparative culture and generation research, Tilburg, Netherlands, fellow at ECCS, European Centre for Comparative Survey, Mannheim, Germany, and at OSA, Institute for Labour Studies, universities of Tilburg and Utrecht, Netherlands. URL: [www.henkinken.nl](http://www.henkinken.nl), email: [hvinken@gmail.com](mailto:hvinken@gmail.com).

<sup>2</sup> This is the fourth working paper in a series. The first three covered religious, political and work values and traditional East Asian values (Vinken, 2007abc, see also Vinken2006ab). See also Chen et al. (2006) for the importance to review values at the domain-level.

caring for burdensome parents are reported. In this respect, Zheng et al. (2005: 253) report on three basic filial and three unfilial acts in China that may illustrate the difficulties of always abiding to the rules. The filial acts are 1) to love and respect your parents in your mind, 2) to let them always have dignity and face as parents, and 3) to support and take care of them until the end. The unfilial acts are: 1) failing to prevent your parents from committing a crime, 2) failing to work to provide food for aging parents, causing them to starve, and 3) failing to marry and have children, thus leaving the family no posterity. The last unfilial act was the number one mention of traditional concepts playing a role in family decisions and was seen as the worst of all three acts according contemporary Chinese people (Dong, 1990).

An interesting project on family life that has had its first wave of cross-cultural data gathering in the 1970s is the Value of Children project (Hoffmann & Hoffmann, 1973). Recently a volume appeared presenting the findings of the last wave of the early 21<sup>st</sup> century including those of mainland China and Korea (Trommsdorff & Nauck, 2005). In summary, both in Korea and China values related to children and parenting have hardly changed despite the formidable societal developments in both countries. Korea, that is South Korea, has grown from a virtually completely rural society to a highly modernized urban society since the mid-1960s. The abominable pace of change in China is daily news today and needs little illustration here. Similar to many other advanced nations, divorce rates went up, marriage is delayed and the number of children came down (whether or not part of explicit policy). Yet, the values that having children represent are as good as untouched, thus challenging, as Kim and Park argue (2005), the notion that in poorer societies people emphasize economic and utilitarian motives (children as a helping hand, as an old-age security, etc.) – motives that were least important also in the early 1970s in Korea – and that in richer ones the emphases shifts to emotional motives. Another notion believed to be universal can be rejected, simply by comparing across cultures. In both Korea and China, although there are some distinctions (see Zheng et al., 2005), the emotional and relational value of children were and still are most important, which is believed to be in line with traditional Confucian values. Before dwelling on this a little more, it is important to note the surveys were carried out among mothers (younger and older ones) only. This is crucial for the factors found in the series of values of children presented to the mothers and for the order of importance of these factors.

Kim and Park (2005) argue that traditionally mothers were assigned the sole responsibility of the psychological and physical well-being of their children. The father entered the play when the child was about three years of age and investments in education and the socialization of obedience to rules became necessary. The mother in the Confucian concept of raising children is expected to sacrifice herself (compare this notion of sacrifice mentioned at the section on work) and display unselfish complete devotion (see also the work section on always doing one's utmost). In practice, a mother should remain very close to the child, minimize boundaries between herself and the child, and become one with her child. In effect, children are indulged, rules are hardly enforced and each wish is gratified. The closeness should encourage the child to incorporate the mother's values and beliefs. Dependence on the mother, in every aspect and for any type of need, extends well into the years of adolescence. It is in this context perhaps not a surprise that the emotional value of children is the prime value. This value relates closely to the role expectation of mothers – the ones who were interviewed – who are regarded to be fulfilled only when they have children for whom they can sacrifice their individuality and merge with at the emotional and relational level. The prime emphasis on the emotional is therefore not a matter of individualism, but more likely a matter of collectivism. Central is creating dependence and loyalty, the duty to sacrifice and show devotion on behalf of a new family member (this same sacrifice and devotion is also compulsory for younger women in the family, including daughters-in-law, when taking care of elderly, that is dependent members of the family), and merging of the self with others in the family (instead of emphasizing separation, learning to stand on one's own feet, etc.).

Another factor was regarded second most important by the mothers in Korea and in China: the relational value of children. This factor was the strongest one of the three factors extracted among the mothers' responses in both Korea (Kim and Park, 2005: 225) and China (Zheng et al., 2005: 265). When looking at reasons for wanting a child (the reasons for not wanting a child are also reported, but not discussed in more detail here), the items include 'more contact/communication with kin', 'standing/reputation among your kin', 'makes family more important' (in China), and even 'more reason to succeed in work'. In both countries not only emotional relatedness, but also family harmony well beyond the nuclear family (between the spouses and their children) is emphasized. A clearer indication of traditional collectivist values still in place is hardly possible. Yet, Kim and Park (2005) stress that in Korea some elements of family life have changed: paternalism is de-emphasized, more opportunities to handle financial family affairs, for instance, are being transferred to women (even more responsibilities, one could also argue; a transfer of responsibilities to men is not reported), boy preference has decreased, and social security efforts are made (efforts to which Zheng et al., 2005, also point for China) that may balance filial anxiety. Despite of all these changes, Kim and Park (2005: 234) say this "may suggest that Korea is following the Western model... However, even with the recent dramatic social change, the importance and value placed on family has not changed in the past 100 years".

Manabe et al. (2002, compare Manabe & Jagodzinski, 2002) have searched for family values in Japan using the international module of ISSP. Here we also find a certain immunity of family values, standing separate from, in this case, other values such as religious and moral values. Comparing Japan and Germany it is found that religious values affect family values in Germany, but not so in Japan. The Japanese are in one way more prone to the traditional family model: they are more often married, less often divorced, and more often regard a marital status desirable. Perceived in another way, compared to Germans, they are less likely to agree that it is a husband's job to earn money, and a wife's one to look after the home and family, something more religious citizens endorse in Germany. The same goes for the idea that family life will suffer if a woman has a full-time job. These items are, of course, highly disputable, in an East Asian context. Traditionally speaking, men have great responsibilities for family life, for instance interpreted as the handling of family affairs, including protecting the family property (such as the home), on behalf of the wider family. The contrast of males earning money and females looking after the home and family is non-sensical and does miss the point the item-constructors probably wish to make, a point that is building on a Western notion of the family and gender roles: women staying at home to take care of the household chores and her children and husband. The same can be said about family life suffering from a woman going to work. This again implies that family life is the responsibility of women. It is very likely that Japanese respondents will puzzle about what exactly is meant here with the term 'family life'. On average they score an almost perfect undecided answer, not agreeing and not disagreeing (Manabe et al., 2002: 8). The relationship with religion, which is hard to attain when respondents mostly are undecided to begin with, is questionable as well. For the sake of comparison a division of denominations in Germany and Japan is constructed, after which it is found that those who adhere to one or the other religion in Germany tend to be more traditional as gender roles go. In Japan this is not found. Manabe himself counterargues (Manabe and Jagodzinski, 2002) that in Japan religious denominations are not exclusive (as discussed above), let alone that moral rules and advice are automatically included in religious practice (as Jagodzinski can prove for the German case). Focusing on Japanese module-items in ISSP, they can show that those who 'feel attracted' to Shinto, Buddhism or Christianity only but weakly have a somewhat more strict moral, but hardly differ on gender roles (see problems above with these items). The results are not strong (and the analyses not conclusive), but yet it might be plausible that family values are not strongly related to other basic values, such as religious values in the East Asian context. It might well be that family values have such an overarching importance, that they simply do not relate to variations in values on other domains. People from different walks of life to some extent all share the notion (and burden, as we saw above) of the importance of the

family in their lives. Sharing this is not a matter of religious or moral liking, it is a basic principle of duties, obligations and respect to one's in-group of family members, deceased, alive or yet to be born.

This concise summary of some recent key findings of family values and attitudes in East Asia shows that filial piety underpins a heightened importance of the family and of the core expectation of continuing the family line by having children and thus building one's own family. In the East Asian value surveys covered in this paper we will concentrate on the importance of family and willingness to adopt children, if necessary, in order to continue the family line. These aspects were found to be the ones comparable across the values surveys. Ideally, we would have liked to focus on perceptions of the parent-child, adult or not, relationships, the feeling of duty, obligation, and respect for older family members, the value of children, and the like, but these perceptions, feelings and values were not consistently measured across the surveys included here, if there was information on these aspects at all. We do have some information on these aspects, however, but then as fundamental building blocks of traditional East Asian values (see below). We will also focus on some elements of filial anxiety such as family life satisfaction, stress in the home and stress in fulfilling family obligations. Yet, most of these elements derive from a Western-origin comparative values survey, as we will illustrate later in this paper. More on the outline and approach of this paper follows below.

### **Outline**

Filial piety and filial anxiety, as stated, are central foci of this paper. Both key East Asian values will be related to what are regarded traditional East Asian values, among which respect for ancestors. We will check the very existence of both filial aspects and see how widespread these aspects are among people from different social groups and national contexts? Also: are these perspectives, above and beyond these groups and contexts, related to traditional values in the region? In the course of answering these questions we will reflect on the adequacy of concepts and indicators used in the surveys from the East Asian region as compared to the Western-origin one (see also the next section).

The approach to answering these questions is stepwise. In a first step we will look at filial piety and anxiety as a function of basic demographics such as gender, generation membership and education. Gender, as we saw above, might be crucial: especially women seem to bear the burden of pressure to live up to family obligation. Generation membership is crucial as it provides data on the effects of being socialized in the highly different historical periods in East Asia. As Thomsen (2006) shows many East Asian countries since WWII have experienced many different discontinuous moments of change (besides more continuous ones, e.g., the steady upward economic trends). These moments most probably (and according to generation theory, see e.g. Ester et al., 2006, should) have had an indelible impact on people's desires, beliefs, and values, including those in the family domain. Education is included to check for effects of divergent levels of social and cultural capital, which, in turn, impact the way people are able to deal with filial aspects, especially whether or not they can tap into resources to prevent filial anxiety.

In a second step the nation/city-state from which the respondents derive is included. This information may capture the effects of being socialized in a particular nation/city-state with all its particular cultural traditions, socio-economic state-of-affairs, and institutional and political regime in place, which, in turn, of course affect the way people from these nations/city-states perceive family life and subsequently the way they act upon these perceptions. Adding this information on top of the previously mentioned demographic variables may add to or again reduce or replace the effects of demographics, allowing for a more refined conclusion on the relative impact of both types of characteristics.

In a final step several sets of traditional values are included in the equation. The same logic applies here: perhaps traditional values may weaken the effects of demographics or nation/city-state of origin, and if so, inform us on the extent to which

these family life perspectives are much more (or also) a matter of culture. In this case, family life perspectives such as filial piety and anxiety are not so much a result of one's gender, formative period or attained educational level or of the country's traditions, state-of-affairs and regime conditions, but much more a matter of the basic values people in East Asia adhere to. Checking this in the stepwise way presented here, sheds a first light on the culture-hypothesis presented above. Maybe especially culture beyond and over other realities that discern nations and city-states in East Asia is what makes family life perspectives vary across East Asia. Being part of an East Asian community of specific traditional values, so theory in its extreme logical consequence would go, overrides all other facets determining perspectives on the family. This working paper aims to seek evidence for this logic in recent survey sources from East Asia.

When analyzing filial piety we will also enter filial anxiety aspects in the equation (before entering the other demographic, origin and values variables) and thus check the relative importance of filial anxiety (especially family life satisfaction) to endorse filial piety. This choice seems valid in the exploratory phase of analysis on which we report here. It is possible to come up with reasons to reverse the analysis, but these are not further presented here. After entering filial anxiety, we enter the other variables. The reasoning is that if piety and anxiety have a strong relationship, this should not be affected by demographics, nation/city of origin or values.

### **Data, indicators, and the issue of wording**

Use is made of several datasets covering different nations and major cities in East Asia. In most cases nations such as China, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and/or (the city-state of) Singapore are included. In some cases several large Chinese cities, instead of one overall reference to China, are distinguished. Most of these datasets originate from East Asia, such as the Asia Barometer (AB) of 2003 (see Inoguchi et al., 2005), the Asian Barometer (AnB) covering the 2001-2003 period, and the East Asia Values Survey (EAVS) 2002-2004. For reasons of comparison we have also included the last publicly available wave (2000-2002) of the predominantly Western-origin World Values Survey (WVS) and the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) 2002 wave on family issues.

Crucial for evaluating the analyses results is the issue of concept equivalence. It is relevant therefore to first take a closer look at the question wording. We will first consider the importance of family and the desirability of adoption as an alternative aimed at continuing the family line. One could argue that these notions relate to the broad concept of filial piety. Table 1 provides the details

Table 1 about here

The wording and the response options of questions asked are crucial. Asking people to choose from a wide list of 'lifestyle aspect', among which 'spending time with your family', that respondents may regard important leads to very different findings than asking them directly how important they regard their family (how ever this is defined). In the first format people will prioritize the item over against the numerous others mentioned in the list. At best the findings reflect some relative importance. In the worst scenario, the scores do not reflect the importance at all: even if respondents did not choose to mention the item, one cannot conclude that they do or might not regard the items as important. In the rating questions we have a direct clue of the importance of the item, even if the is the risk of overrating the importance due to several types of response set and biases related to rating questions. We see these processes at work in Table 1. In EAVS all cities and nations involved similarly rate family (that is immediate family such as one's spouse and children) as very important.<sup>3</sup> In WVS most do too when thinking of

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<sup>3</sup> EAVS also asked for the importance of 'parents, brothers, sisters, and other relatives'. The importance of this wider circle of family members correlates positively ( $r=0,39$ ) with the importance of 'immediate family'. For reasons of maintaining comparability with the other surveys (using unspecified notions of family) we use 'immediate family' only.

family as a not further specified category, be it that the Chinese scores are relatively low (yet still between important and very important). In AB, using the choice option discussed above, about 37% of the Chinese mention 'spending time with family' as important, over against about 50% of the South Koreans and 60% of the Japanese. With caution, we might conclude that in China, compared to other East Asian nations, spending time with your family is relatively less important over against other lifestyle aspects, yet in all East Asian nations and cities (immediate) family as such is very important. We have to reconcile ourselves with this complicated conclusion if we wish to compare different surveys.

In AB and EAVS we have almost similarly worded items tapping people's willingness to consider adoption in order to continue the family line. The scores in table 1 can be read as proportions of those thinking adoption desirable. The scores in AB and EAVS vary considerably with consistently higher proportions in EAVS. In China and South Korea the proportions vary around 20% and in EAVS the scores are between 17% and 29% for Chinese cities and also 29% for South Korea. For Japan AB reports 4% and EAVS 13%. If this diversity is the effect of wording differences at all, then perhaps the general phrasing in AB versus the specific one in EAVS might be playing in role. AB presents the hypothetical situation of having 'no descendants' and adopting 'somebody' as a solution. In EAVS both phrases are replaced with having 'no children' and adopting 'a child'. The abstract phrasing of AB might have led to underreporting of those willing to consider adoption of children. Also, AB adds 'I think it would be pointless' to the response option 'I would not adopt in order to continue the family line', something missing in the same EAVS response option. Adding the dimension of the usefulness of adoption might have attracted more respondents to this response option as compared to EAVS.

Table 2 presents the data on family life satisfaction and (available for ISSP only) family life stress. Both notions are the best proxies for filial anxiety available in the several surveys covering the East Asian region.

Table 2 about here

In AB, EAVS, and ISSP family life satisfaction is reasonable: in all cases above 'somewhat' or 'fairly' satisfied. The differences between the several nations and/or cities involved in the surveys are very moderate. Cautiously one can conclude that the Chinese seem somewhat more satisfied compared to the Japanese, South Koreans, Singaporeans and Taiwanese. In ISSP two items refer to family stress: 'my life at home is rather stressful' (labeled home stress) and 'it has been difficult for me to fulfill my family responsibilities because the amount of time spent on my job' (labeled stress fulfilling family responsibilities). Stress is weak, both in Japan and Taiwan: on average the scores vary between 'disagree' and 'neither agree nor disagree' as regards home stress and 'never' and 'once or twice' as regards stress fulfilling family responsibilities. Filial anxiety seems modest in the East Asian region.

The various surveys also include basic values, some of which also relate to the phenomena of filial piety and filial anxiety as one can find below. In AB and EAVS several measurements for traditional (East Asian) values are in use. In AB, a survey far from focused on values as such, several items refer to desired accomplishments of (if necessary, imagined) sons and daughters: from becoming wealthy to becoming a person who cares about family. No reliable factor or sum of scores could be constructed, not for sons or for daughters.<sup>4</sup> Inter-correlations between the different desires are quite low. Two series of counts were included for sons and for daughters separately. One count refers to fame: become a great scholar, a powerful political leader, very wealthy, a person respected by the masses. The other refers to relatedness: become a loving and charitable person, become a person who cares about family, and find a good marriage partner. EAVS has a specific set of traditional Asian values and analyses result in a two-

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<sup>4</sup> This could be the result of asking respondents to nominate two desires to the maximum and the resulting mentioned-not-mentioned format, which does not facilitate factor analysis.

factor solution. The first factor is strong and is labeled gender roles with items such as 'we need a son to keep our family line going', 'a wife should follow her husband', 'men should work outside and women should tend to housekeeping'.<sup>5</sup> The second factor consists of only two strongly loading items: 'we should respect ancestors' and 'the eldest son should look after his aging parents'.<sup>6</sup> The factor is labeled respect ancestors.<sup>7</sup> In WVS the choice of values is abundant, but in order to align with the previous a focus was put on several items that tap respect for parents, the need for children, and gender roles. Two factors emerged.<sup>8</sup> The first factor directs items such as 'a working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work', 'being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay', and 'both the husband and wife should contribute to household income'. This factor is labeled gender roles. The second factor, labeled piety, includes: 'one of my main goals in life has been to make my parents proud', 'a woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled', and 'regardless of what the qualities and faults of one's parents are, one must always love and respect them'. ISSP mostly focuses on family and gender related values. Several sets of gender role values are extracted. The first set, gender roles1, is a sum of scores based on items used previously in the ISSP religion module (see Vinken, 2007a): 'A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after the home and the family' and 'All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job'.<sup>9</sup> The second set, gender roles2, is constructed to mimic the WVS construct presented above and thus uses the items: 'A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work', 'Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay', 'Both the husband and wife should contribute to household income'.<sup>10</sup> The third and fourth set, gender roles3 and gender roles4, are based on new factor analyses. Gender roles3 is almost similar to gender roles1, yet now also includes a statement on what women are believed to desire: 'A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after the home and the family', 'A job is all right, but what most women really want is a home and children', 'A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works', and 'All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job'.<sup>11</sup> Gender roles4 is a construct on equally sharing chores, upbringing and work by men and women: 'Men ought to do a larger share of household work than they do now', 'Men ought to do a larger share of childcare than they do now', 'Having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person', and 'Both the man and woman should

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<sup>5</sup> This factor (after PCA, varimax rotation) with Eigen 2,740, R<sup>2</sup> 35,9%.

<sup>6</sup> Eigen 1,141, R<sup>2</sup> 19,4%.

<sup>7</sup> Respectively Cronbach's alpha of sum of scores 0,751 and correlation 'respect ancestors'-items of 0,27.

<sup>8</sup> Factor analyses (PCA, varimax rotation) show two factors with respectively Eigen 1,486 and 1,200, R<sup>2</sup> 24,5% and 20,3% and (very weak) Cronbach's alpha's of sums of scores 0,340 and 0,452. Items are recoded in what is believed the traditional direction. 'Always respect parents' and 'women need children' are 0-1 format (respondent could choose these statements or alternatives). The items 'main goal make parents proud', and 'housewife just as fulfilling as working wife' are recoded in disagree strongly to agree strongly; 'working mother can have warm relationship child' and 'both men and women contribute to household income' are not recoded and therefore here still range from agree strongly to disagree strongly. The 'housewife fulfilling'-item now loaded negatively on the factor with the these two non-recoded items in this factor, meaning: the higher the score on this factor, the more one disagrees with 'housewife fulfilling'-item, and the more one disagrees with the two non-recoded items mentioned. The rationale of the recode of the 'housewife fulfilling'-item seems incorrect: it is not per se traditional to think that being a housewife is just as fulfilling as being a working wife. The housewife fulfilling-item therefore was used in its original non-recoded format. See also Braun (2006) for more methodological problems with these gender role items.

<sup>9</sup> In the 1998 ISSP religion module this construct referred to Japan only and produced a correlation of 0,51 between both items. Now, including Japan and Taiwan, the correlation is weak and negative with -0,23 (in both cases coding reversed in the direction of agreement). For Japan only the correlation is also reversed: -0,27.

<sup>10</sup> Factor scores (PCA, varimax) with Eigen 1,263 and R<sup>2</sup> 42,098. Cronbach's alpha is very weak: 0,291.

<sup>11</sup> Eigen 1,956, R<sup>2</sup> 24,444 and Cronbach's alpha 0,604.

contribute to the household income'.<sup>12</sup> Table 3 reports on the values positions of the nations and city-states.

Table 3 about here

The strongest diversity is found in the WVS piety and EAVS gender roles instruments (considering the  $\eta^2$ ): The Chinese disagree most with both of these traditional values. While the Japanese also denounce piety, they are neutral like also the Hong Kong Chinese as regards traditional gender roles. The Singaporeans (also predominantly of Chinese origin), South Koreans, and Taiwanese are traditional as regards both values. In terms of discerning power the WVS gender roles instrument is weak, as are most of the ISSP gender roles constructs (except gender roles3).<sup>13</sup> All included nations take up a neutral position on these values. The ISSP gender roles3, EAVS respect for ancestor and all AB values instruments are relatively good. The traditional gender roles tapped in ISSP gender roles3 are perceived negatively in Taiwan as compared to Japan. Respect for ancestors is valued most in Taiwan, Hong Kong and many other Chinese cities. In especially Japan and South Korea this value has low priority. Fame for both sons and daughters is valued more in China and South Korea than in Japan. Relatedness of sons and especially daughters is high priority in Japan followed at some distance by South Korea and China.

Three socio-demographic variables are, finally, included in the analyses: gender, generation membership and education. Gender is included because, as we argued above, it might well be that filial piety and especially filial anxiety affect if not burden women more than men. The three-fold generation membership variable refers to cohorts born before 1945, between 1945 and 1969, and in 1970 or later. In most cases (compare Thomsen, 2006a) this division distinguishes cohorts whose members 1) experienced the gravity of war and early post-war re-construction in their youthful or formative years (the pre-1945 cohort), 2) years of rapidly advancing socio-economic development and at the same time severe cultural upheaval as well as, by the end of the 1960s, rising affluence (all except China; the 1945-1969 cohort), or 3) years of relative stability and more broadly felt affluence (post 1970-cohort). The education variable is a three-level ranked indicator (low, middle, high) build on differently ranged variables tapping scores from non-finalized primary education to finalized university education.

### **Filial anxiety**

First of all we will address the issue of filial anxiety by taking a closer look at family life satisfaction and family life stress. In most cases, as table 4 shows, filial anxiety in the East Asian context and as it is surveyed here, is hardly a matter of individual or group characteristics, or of national or cultural variations. After adding all features we are left with a total of 4% explained variance.

Table 4 about here

If we can dwell on impact factors at all, considering the overall weakness of the models, it seems that family satisfaction across the three surveys for which we have data (AB, EAVS and ISSP) builds on education, national diversities, and some basic values. In AB it are the Chinese who are more satisfied, followed by the higher educated, and those emphasizing relatedness of sons. In EAVS people living in most Chinese cities (in or outside the mainland) are more satisfied, again followed by the higher educated and, in this case, people stressing the value of respect for ancestors. In ISSP, education plays the major role, also in the model that includes national and value diversity. Being higher

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<sup>12</sup> Eigen 1,764,  $R^2$  22,053 and Cronbach's alpha 0,544.

<sup>13</sup> The rule of thumb is that an instrument is weak in terms of this power with  $\eta^2 < 0,05$  comparable to a correlation of  $< 0,25$ .



educated relates positively and supporting the working role of mothers (gender roles2) negatively to satisfaction.

Data on home life stress and stress with fulfilling family responsibilities is available for Japan and Taiwan only. Home life stress seems to be a life course stage issue: the highest stress is found among the cohort born between 1945 and 1970, followed by the youngest, 1970+ cohort (all as compared to the oldest). Members of these cohorts typically experience the 'peak hour' of life filled with responsibilities and obligations inside and outside the home. Of course, these cohorts also represent generations that most clearly have had to deal with the pervasive transitions from traditional to modern, or perhaps better, from clear-cut to more vaguely defined family and gender role perceptions following (post)modernization. Women, we further find, indeed report more stress. Less stress is found among the Taiwanese, the higher educated, and those who value men and women sharing chores, upbringing and work equally (gender roles4). Stress about one's ability to fulfill family responsibilities when working is unrelated to gender. Again cohort membership and education seem to matter most. National or value diversity do not add to the equation, yet they do boost the effects of cohort membership and education. The concern is strongest among the youngest cohort, if not the Japanese youngest cohort, with which one can argue that the issue of falling short of fulfilling these responsibilities is most likely a prospective anxiety, something younger people worry about when they reflect on the future.

This conclusion should not be overstated, however, because also the middle-aged cohorts are concerned, as are the higher educated. Moreover, we should bear in mind that we are uncertain about the exact conception of the trade-off family-work people refer to when assessing this item. As stated, the notion of family responsibilities in an East Asian framework of reference can well be extended beyond the immediate family, for instance to older family members or even to ancestors and future generations, if not to issues of upholding family traditions and caring for the family heritage. It is not clear what people think of when asked about family responsibilities as something hard to fulfill if working. If the perception of responsibilities is wide in the East Asian sense, then the trade-off with work does not make much sense. With a more narrow perception, such as having time for one's spouse, involve in the upbringing of one's own children or doing the chores at home, a trade-off with work time would make sense. Again, we do not know what people are thinking of when considering this item. What is clear is that with this item national and value diversity do not seem to matter. Perhaps this is an indication that the item itself is not interpreted along the lines of variations in traditions and basic values (at least not the ones included in ISSP), not as something that relates to one's traditional values context, but only to personal features such as age and education level. Perhaps it is interpreted in a narrow sense and perhaps that is why traditions and values show no effects. This is, all in all, a hypothesis worth examining further in future surveys.

### **Filial piety**

Here we consider the importance of family and the readiness to adopt children in order to continue the family as proxies of filial piety. Table 5 reports.

Table 5 about here

The importance of family life is measured in AB, EAVS and WVS. As stated the importance of family life is not varying much in the East Asian context. This means that explanations of variations are likely to fall short by definition. Here we refrain from artificially boosting variation (e.g., by centering or other ways) as is often done in values surveys (see the Schwartz Values Surveys). The consequence is that we have to deal with the reality of weak models and low rates of explained variance. Family life satisfaction hardly plays a role, nor do demographics or even traditional values. The strongest but still weak factor that explains the varying importance of family life in East Asia is nation/city of origin, and especially information on China as a whole versus other nations. If family is not specified or, in other words, is left to the respondent to define (in

AB and WVS) when assessing the importance, this is the general pattern. If it is specified, e.g. if it is referring to immediate family only (as in EAVS), all factors are but weakly contributing to the assessment of its importance, including the information on nation/city of origin. Comparing the AB and WVS, both not specifying family as such (but AB focusing on spending time with the family), we find that the WVS questioning shows the strongest variations. Here China is really the other, less family-oriented nation compared to Japan, Singapore and South Korea. In AB this differentiation is there too, but much weaker. In AB we have, to begin with, less countries to compare and family life satisfaction as a contributing factor (missing in WVS): ergo, there is less variation left for country/city of origin to explain than in WVS. Also, the specification of 'spending time' with your family as an important lifestyle aspect, may contribute to the low total share of explained variation obtained in AB. As stated, family life can be regarded important without per se valuing the time spent with the family an important lifestyle aspect. Moreover, spending time with the family is something many people in East Asian nations might not be able to choose as an important lifestyle aspect, living in many cases far away from one's family place of origin and/or working long hours away from home. The general WVS formulation ('how important is family in your life') is an option to everyone, regardless of their reality and, as we can see, regardless of their demographic characteristics or of the values they support. A corroboration for this interpretation might also be found in the fact that in AB we find a (weak) gender and age effect: women and older cohorts value spending time with family more. In WVS we do not find any demographics effect: the WVS notion indeed seems an option for people with different demographic features and value orientations. The sole factor that matters is the nation of origin.

The willingness to adopt is measured in AB and EAVS only. Again we find very weak to non-existent effects of family life satisfaction and of demographics. Next, we see a modest jump in explained variance due to nation/city of origin information on top of which traditional values play no or only a very little role of importance. Much more than the Japanese are, the Chinese (in most different cities – Beijing is the exception – or on the level of the country as a whole), the Singaporeans, and South Koreans are likely to consider adoption in order to continue the family line. Considering the almost equally high if not higher willingness of people from Singapore and South Korea to adopt it is not likely that adoption is related to Chinese reality only, e.g. the reality of the one-child policy in China that supports aims to have a male child and thus continue the family line.

As regards filial piety we have mixed results: The Chinese stressing the importance of the family less, and the Chinese (and others) willing to adopt in order to continue the family line. In the next concluding section we will address the consequences of this mixed finding, including the striking lack of value impacts.

## **Conclusions**

Filial piety and anxiety are hard to detect phenomena in East Asia, at least when measured the way they are in the East Asian and Western-origin values surveys presented here.

There is some proof that specifying family in a Western way, i.e. as the immediate family members of the spouse and children only, leads to exceptional results in the East Asian context: if so, none of the abundance of factors included in the analysis exert any effect on the ratings of importance of the family. All people, in other words, equally support the importance of this nuclear circle of family members. If the concept of the family is left open for people to interpret themselves, as in WVS, effects are strongest, yet all in all still rather modest. The impact factor worth mentioning is nation/city of origin: the Chinese as opposed to all others emphasize the importance of the family less. This, of course, runs against all stereotypes of the strongly family-based logic of Chinese society (see also on family-based 'guanxi' and related phenomena Vinken, 2007c). Spending time with one's family as an important lifestyle aspect, as it is measured in AB, is not something the Chinese are likely to report. This might well be due to contingent realities in which many Chinese are also less able to be close to their families. Adoption is

an option for many East Asian publics except the Japanese. Support for the filial act of building one's own family by having children seems widespread outside Japan. We are left with China being the exception of de-emphasizing the importance of the family and Japan (and Beijing city, if one wishes to complete the picture) being the exception on denouncing adoption in order to continue the family line. The latter is especially notable when the question to which publics respond is abstractly phrased ('adopt somebody') and includes 'I think it would be pointless' as an answering option. In Japan the regulations to continue the family line are probably interpreted harsher than in other parts of East Asia and/or alternatives for having a life without children are more likely to be accepted. On the Chinese exception in terms of underrating the importance of the family in general, more information on the exact interpretation of the role of the family in daily life is needed. Perhaps more than in other East Asian nations, the family has lost its cohesive grounds with the exhaustive pace of change in contemporary China and the immense within-China movement of migrants to larger urban areas of employment. Further study should provide the necessary extra information.

Satisfaction with family life should be taken into account when further studying the lower importance of the family in China: consistently across the East Asian-origin surveys we find that the Chinese are most satisfied. Values play a minor role (see below). The Taiwanese have less home life stress, but they have more stress about fulfilling one's family responsibilities. The cases of stress are measured in the Western-origin survey and compare Taiwan and Japan only. Like family life satisfaction measured in this Western-origin survey, demographic indicators instead of information on nation/city of origin and values matter most: the busy cohorts and the higher educated combining several roles and juggling obligations at several life domains at the same time, are the ones that report most stress; women do so too only as regards home stress. Filial anxiety does not seem to be a matter of culture (values) or of national/city level realities.

Some extra words are needed on the low impact of the core traditional values included in the surveys at hand. Even the rather direct piety values included in the WVS survey (making parents proud, and women being fulfilled only with children) have little importance for filial piety c.q. importance of the family (filial anxiety was not surveyed in WVS): piety values are related positively to family importance, but the impact is hardly worth mentioning, especially as compared to the impact of originating from China. Some other values relate very weakly to satisfaction with family life: emphasizing one's son's relatedness to others and stressing respect for ancestors contribute positively and endorsing the working role of mothers (gender roles2) negatively to satisfaction. As regards home life stress only the support for gender equal role sharing (gender roles4) has a very weak negative impact (less stress). For stress on fulfilling family obligation no values show any impact. Still, all the impacts of values reported here are almost negligible compared to the impacts of other factors. One possible conclusion is that family-related phenomena in East Asia, such as filial piety (high) and filial anxiety (low), are indeed such commonly recognized phenomena that they are not related to basic traditional East Asian values: they are indeed universals that not per se form a separate world apart from values, traditional or modern, but indeed form the prototypical filter through which all other issues and domains of life are interpreted regardless of the values one endorses.

Before more definitely supporting this conclusion, however, the East Asian values surveys should, like the Western-origin ones, make more efforts to live up to expectations. They too do not seriously tap into the classic notions on family life in East Asia. Filial piety and filial anxiety are measured in rather narrowly defined indicators. Filial piety as a notion strongly relates to obligations, respect and feelings of duty towards foregoing and coming generations, including bringing up children and ensuring a successful family life of one's own. In our analyses we had to limit ourselves to assessments of the importance of the family (in a broad and sometimes in a narrow Western sense), and to adoption (sometimes very loosely formulated by presenting 'adopting somebody' to respondents). Filial anxiety refers to all kinds of stress and fears of not meeting expectations on concretely taking care of elderly family members and/or starting one's own family. The only stress-items included in our analyses derived from a

Western-study (ISSP). As far as family values go we can conclude that also the East Asian-origin values surveys have to make more serious efforts to obtain more adequate and detailed indicators of those values believed to be typical for their own region. These surveys also fall short of coming close to the most basic notions that are believed to characterize their own region.

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## Tables

**Table 1: Importance family and adoption**

Importance family	AB 2003	EAVS 2002-2004	WVS 2000-2002
China	0,37	-	3,58
- Beijing	-	6,68	-
- Shanghai	-	6,71	-
- Hong Kong	-	6,46	-
- Kunming	-	6,65	-
- Hangzhou	-	6,69	-
Japan	0,60	6,60	3,92
Singapore	-	6,81	3,94
South Korea	0,49	6,74	3,89
Taiwan	-	6,67	-
Eta <sup>2</sup>	0,04	0,02	0,12
Adoption	AB 2003	EAVS 2002-2004	WVS 2000-2002
China	0,22	-	-
- Beijing	-	0,18	-
- Shanghai	-	0,29	-
- Hong Kong	-	0,17	-
- Kunming	-	0,22	-
- Hangzhou	-	0,23	-
Japan	0,04	0,13	-
Singapore	-	0,38	-
South Korea	0,19	0,29	-
Taiwan	-	0,19	-
Eta <sup>2</sup>	0,05	0,03	-

Sources: AB = Asia Barometer; EAVS = East Asia Values Survey; WVS = World Values Survey. NB: - = no data; Importance family in AB mention of maximum five 'lifestyle aspects or life circumstance that are important to you: Spending time with your family'; In EAVS means of 'Can you tell how important each of the following is to you: Your immediate family members such as spouse and children, if you have any' 1) Not at all important to 7) Very important (in between scores not phrased); In WVS means of 'For each of the following, indicate how important it is in your life: Family. Would you say it is:' (reversed into) 1) Not at all important, 2) Not very important, 3) Rather important, 4) Very important. Adoption in AB means of 'If you had no descendants, would you think it desirable to adopt somebody in order to continue the family line, even if there were no blood relationships? Or do you think this would be unnecessary? (recoded into) 0) Would not adopt in order to continue the family line. I think it would be pointless, and 0) It would depend on the circumstances, 1) Would adopt in order to continue the family line; in EAVS means of 'If you had no children, would think it desirable to adopt a child in order to continue the family, even if there is no blood relationship? Or do you not think this is important' (recoded into) 0) Would not adopt, and 0) Depend, 1) Would adopt.

**Table 2: Family life satisfaction and stress**

Family life satisfaction	AB 2003	EAVS 2002-2004	ISSP 2002
China	3,87	-	-
- Beijing	-	4,58	-
- Shanghai	-	4,51	-
- Hong Kong	-	4,35	-
- Kunming	-	4,44	-
- Hangzhou	-	4,47	-
Japan	3,61	4,21	5,52
Singapore	-	4,30	-
South Korea	3,70	4,03	-
Taiwan	-	4,44	5,38
Eta <sup>2</sup>	0,02	0,03	0,01
Home life stress	AB 2003	EAVS 2002-2004	ISSP 2002
Japan	-	-	2,69
Taiwan	-	-	2,50
Eta <sup>2</sup>	-	-	0,01
Stress fulfilling family responsibilities	AB 2003	EAVS 2002-2004	ISSP 2002
Japan	-	-	1,81
Taiwan	-	-	1,78
Eta <sup>2</sup>	-	-	0,00

Sources: AB = Asia Barometer; EAVS = East Asia Values Survey; ISSP=International Social Survey Programme. NB: - = no data. Family life satisfaction in AB means 'Please tell me how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with the following aspects of your life: Family life' (reversed into) 1) Very dissatisfied, 2) Somewhat dissatisfied, 3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, 4) Somewhat satisfied, 5) Very satisfied; in EAVS 'All things considered, how satisfied are you with your family life – the time you spend and the things you do with members of your family?' (reversed into) 1) Completely dissatisfied, 2) somewhat dissatisfied, 3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied (neutral), 4) somewhat satisfied, 5) Completely satisfied; in ISSP 'All things considered, how satisfied are you with your family life' (reversed into) 1) Completely dissatisfied, 2) Very dissatisfied, 3) Fairly dissatisfied, 4) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, 5) Fairly satisfied, 6) Very satisfied, 7) Completely satisfied. Home life stress in ISSP means 'My life at home is rarely stressful' (reversed into) 1) Strongly disagree, 2) Disagree, 3) Neither agree nor disagree, 4) Agree, 5) Strongly agree. Stress fulfilling family responsibilities in ISSP means 'How often has each of the following happened to you during the past three months: It has been difficult for me to fulfill my family responsibilities because of the amount of time I spent on my job' (reversed into) 1) Never, 2) Once or twice, 3) Several times a month, 4) Several times a week.

**Table 3: Traditional (East Asian) values**

	AB 2003				EAVS 2002-2004		WVS 2000-2002		ISSP 2002			
	fame son	fame daughter	relatedness son	relatedness daughter	gender roles	respect ancestors	gender roles	piety	gender roles1	gender roles2	gender roles3	gender roles4
China	0,82	0,52	0,73	1,11	-	-	-0,18	-0,44	-	-	-	-
- Beijing	-	-	-	-	-0,40	0,03	-	-	-	-	-	-
- Shanghai	-	-	-	-	-0,48	0,19	-	-	-	-	-	-
- Hong Kong	-	-	-	-	-0,04	0,30	-	-	-	-	-	-
- Kunming	-	-	-	-	-0,29	-0,03	-	-	-	-	-	-
- Hangzhou	-	-	-	-	-0,29	0,13	-	-	-	-	-	-
Japan	0,35	0,15	1,28	1,56	0,07	-0,42	0,05	-0,67	2,64	-0,08	0,03	-0,02
Singapore	-	-	-	-	0,49	-0,07	0,24	0,41	-	-	-	-
South Korea	0,70	0,34	0,92	1,40	0,59	-0,47	-0,20	0,22	-	-	-	-
Taiwan	-	-	-	-	0,50	0,29	-	-	2,85	0,05	-0,23	0,02
Eta <sup>2</sup>	0,10	0,09	0,11	0,07	0,16	0,07	0,04	0,19	0,01	0,00	0,07	0,00

Sources: AB = Asia Barometer; EAVS = East Asia Values Survey; WVS = World Values Survey; ISSP = International Social Survey Programme. NB: - = no data; For AB means of maximum of two mentions of selected items (range 0-2): fame son-daughter items are 'Become a great scholar', 'Become a powerful political leader', 'Become very wealthy', and 'Become a person respected by the masses'; relatedness son-daughter 'Become a loving and charitable person', 'Become a person who cares about family', and 'Find a good marriage partner'; For EAVS factors scores: gender roles items are (in decreasing order of importance/factor loadings) 'We need a son to keep our family line going', 'Wife should follow her husband', 'Man should work outside and woman should tend to housekeeping', 'Not to marry someone whom your parents object to', and 'We should follow older people'; respect ancestors items are (idem) 'We should respect ancestors' and 'The eldest son should look after his aging parents'. For WVS factors scores: gender roles items are (idem): 'A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work', 'Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay', 'Both the husband and wife should contribute to household income'; piety items are (idem): 'One of my main goals in life has been to make my parents proud', 'A woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled', and 'Regardless of what the qualities and faults of one's parents are, one must always love and respect them'. For ISSP sum of scores gender roles1 of items 'A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after the home and the family' and 'All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job' (cf. ISSP 1998 Religion Module; see Vinken, 2007a); factor scores gender roles2 items 'A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work', 'Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay', 'Both the husband and wife should contribute to household income' (cf. WVS); factor scores gender roles3 items 'A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after the home and the family', 'A job is all right, but what most women really want is a home and children', 'A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works', and 'All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job'; factor scores gender roles4 items 'Men ought to do a larger share of household work than they do now', 'Men ought to do a larger share of childcare than they do now', 'Having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person', and 'Both the man and woman should contribute to the household income'. All EAVS factors scores based on responses 1) Strongly disagree, 2) Somewhat disagree, 3) Somewhat agree, and 4) Strongly agree; Idem for first item in WVS piety, others are mentions (0-1 format with 1 is mention). For WVS gender roles scores are based on responses 1) Strongly agree, 2) Somewhat agree, 3) Somewhat disagree, and 4) Strongly disagree. For ISSP gender roles2, 3, and 4 based on responses 1) Strongly agree, 2) Agree, 3) Neither agree nor disagree, 4) Disagree, 5) Strongly disagree; Note that for gender roles1 the responses are reversed (in Agree-direction) and sum of scores divided by 2.



**Table 4: Family life satisfaction and stress explained**

Beta's	AB 2003	EAVS 2002-2004	ISSP 2002		
	Family life satisfaction	Family life satisfaction	Family life satisfaction	Home life stress	Stress fulfilling family responsibilities
Female	,034	,001	-,009	,100 ***	-,037
Cohort 1945-1970	rc	-,004	,000	,098 ***	,117 **
Cohort 1970+	,009	-,031 *	-,031	,066 *	,149 ***
Education	,074 ***	,074 ***	,134 ***	-,067 **	,119 ***
R <sup>2</sup>	,005	,004	,015	,017	,030
Female	,038	,000	-,012	,095 ***	-,036
Cohort 1945-1970	rc	-,006	,009	,112 ***	,113 **
Cohort 1970+	,003	-,035 *	-,014	,094 **	,142 ***
Education	,104 ***	,079 ***	,124 ***	-,084 **	,122 ***
China	,166 ***	-	-	-	-
- Beijing	-	,126 ***	-	-	-
- Shanghai	-	,113 ***	-	-	-
- Hong Kong	-	,062 ***	-	-	-
- Kunming	-	,072 ***	-	-	-
- Hangzhou	-	,081 ***	-	-	-
Singapore	-	,040 ***	-	-	-
South Korea	,047 *	-,068 ***	-	-	-
Taiwan	-	,074 ***	-,052 *	-,086 ***	,017
R <sup>2</sup>	,026 ***	,035 ***	,017 *	,024 ***	,030
Female	,037	,005	-,014	,099 ***	-,026
Cohort 1945-1970	rc	,003	-,002	,125 ***	,130 **
Cohort 1970+	,000	-,027	-,024	,105 **	,157 ***
Education	,110 ***	,085 ***	,120 ***	-,079 **	,137 ***
China	,177 ***	-	-	-	-
- Beijing	-	,113 ***	-	-	-
- Shanghai	-	,097 ***	-	-	-
- Hong Kong	-	,040 *	-	-	-
- Kunming	-	,062 ***	-	-	-
- Hangzhou	-	,067 ***	-	-	-
Singapore	-	,028	-	-	-
South Korea	,044	-,069 ***	-	-	-
Taiwan	-	,054 ***	-,033	-,089 ***	-,004
Son Fame	,031	-	-	-	-
Daughter Fame	,023	-	-	-	-
Son Relatedness	,094 ***	-	-	-	-
Daughter Relatedness	,024	-	-	-	-
Respect Ancestors	-	,088 ***	-	-	-
Gender Roles	-	,011	-	-	-
Gender Roles1	-	-	,029	,076	,045
Gender Roles2	-	-	-,094 ***	,041	,052
Gender Roles3	-	-	,054	,030	-,032
Gender Roles4	-	-	,043	-,061 **	-,041
R <sup>2</sup>	,034	,042 ***	,025 ***	,029 **	,037 *

Sources: AB = Asia Barometer; EAVS = East Asia Values Survey; ISSP=International Social Survey Programme. NB: Multiple linear regression with, if not stated otherwise, Japan and cohort pre-1945 as reference categories; - = no data; rc = reference category; R<sup>2</sup> = Adjusted R<sup>2</sup> (checked for significance of F change); \*\*\* = p <.001; \*\* = p<.01; \* = p<.05.

**Table 5: Importance family and adoption explained**

Beta's	AB 2003		EAVS 2002-2004		WVS 2000-2002
	Importance family life	Adoption	Importance family life	Adoption	Importance family life
Satisfaction family life	,123 ***	,075 ***	,131 ***	-,011	-
R <sup>2</sup>	,015	,005	,017	,000	-
Satisfaction family life	,123 ***	,082 ***	,130 ***	-,007	-
Female	,066 **	-,032	,055 ***	-,011	,029
Cohort 1945-1970	rc	rc	,071 ***	-,029 *	,039
Cohort 1970+	-,115 ***	,021	-,011	-,039 *	-,059 *
Education	,011	-,086 ***	,005	-,055 ***	,093 ***
R <sup>2</sup>	,030 ***	,012 ***	,026 ***	,005 ***	,008
Satisfaction family life	,153 ***	,057 **	,137 ***	-,001	-
Female	,058 **	-,023	,053 ***	-,011	,015
Cohort 1945-1970	rc	rc	,076 ***	-,041 **	,031
Cohort 1970+	-,104 ***	,004	-,004	-,057 ***	-,045
Education	-,030	-,058 **	-,007	-,048 ***	,037 *
China	-,236 ***	,216 ***	-	-	-,362 ***
- Beijing	-	-	,015	,049 **	-
- Shanghai	-	-	,026	,122 ***	-
- Hong Kong	-	-	-,070 ***	,035 *	-
- Kunming	-	-	,006	,069 ***	-
- Hangzhou	-	-	,019	,068 ***	-
Singapore	-	-	,067 ***	,194 ***	,036
South Korea	-,096 ***	,204 ***	,063 ***	,127 ***	-,045 *
Taiwan	-	-	,008	,038 *	-
R <sup>2</sup>	,071 ***	,055 ***	,039 ***	,033 ***	,136 ***
Satisfaction family life	,151 ***	,058 **	,133 ***	-,007	-
Female	,059 **	-,023	,057 ***	-,003	,012
Cohort 1945-1970	rc	rc	,082 ***	-,031 *	,051 *
Cohort 1970+	-,105 ***	,004	,001	-,044 **	-,021
Education	-,029	-,059 **	-,003	-,037 **	,047 **
China	-,208 ***	,204 ***	-	-	-,380 ***
- Beijing	-	-	,010	-,045 **	-
- Shanghai	-	-	,019	,117 ***	-
- Hong Kong	-	-	-,080 ***	,020	-
- Kunming	-	-	,002	,067 ***	-
- Hangzhou	-	-	,013	,062 ***	-
Singapore	-	-	,060 ***	,179 ***	-,013
South Korea	-,076 **	,192 ***	,061 ***	,118 ***	-,097 ***
Taiwan	-	-	-,003	,018	-
Son Fame	-,045 *	,030	-	-	-
Daughter Fame	-,013	-,002	-	-	-
Son Relatedness	-,043 *	-,011	-	-	-
Daughter Relatedness	-,017	-,004	-	-	-
Respect Ancestors	-	-	,045 ***	,068 ***	-
Gender Roles	-	-	,012	,047 ***	-,067 ***
Piety	-	-	-	-	,095 ***
R <sup>2</sup>	,074 **	,055	,041 ***	,039 ***	,148 ***

Sources: AB = Asia Barometer; EAVS = East Asia Values Survey; WVS = World Values Survey. Multiple linear regression with, if not stated otherwise, Japan and cohort pre-1945 as reference categories; - = no data; rc = reference category; R<sup>2</sup> = Adjusted R<sup>2</sup> (checked for significance of F change); \*\*\* = p < .001; \*\* = p < .01; \* = p < .05.